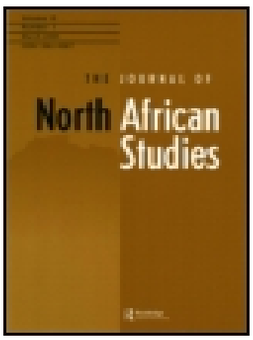

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Jewish music in northern morocco and the building of sonic identity boundaries

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the conclusions drawn from field work done in Morocco between 2007–2019 of the Judeo-Spanish repertoires of Northern Morocco and their internal societal functions. My findings conclude that their communal use is strictly inner facing and specific to their life in Morocco and not a representation of a long nostalgia for life in pre-Expulsion Spain, contrary to the prevailing focus in previous studies on this repertoire. Moroccan Jews have repurposed this material drawn from the cultures of contact to act as sonic protection against assimilation to the majority culture, through a complex system of encoded messages woven through the song texts, their contexts and moments of performance culminating in a pre-wedding ritual heavy with songs which reifies the bride as sacred vector for communal continuity through her sexual purity and fertility. Their use of music for constructing boundaries exemplifies sociological theories on boundaries and community identity which demonstrate a complex weaving and nesting of multiplicity of identities within their sung repertoires.

KEYWORDS Morocco; Jewish; music; gender; identity; boundaries

This article delineates the centrality of Judeo-Spanish repertoire in northern Morocco's community until today as a sonic protection to assimilation to the majority culture and a celebration of Jewish women's fertility in use of the community's continuity. Their sung repertoire is deployed as a sonic talisman through women's lived, performed and sung embodiment of fertility during the *Noche de Berberisca*[1] ritual. Even until the early twenty-first century, this celebration the night before the wedding transforms the bride into an embodiment of the Torah, and thus a living symbol of the tree of life, enacting the medieval Kabbalistic gender duality linked around the tree of life and the feminine and masculine aspects.

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> Just as Adam is described as having been created as male and female, so the imaginal body of the sefirotic potencies is portrayed in terms of a gender binary, with the female, emblematic of the capacity to receive, linked to the left side of judgment, and the male, emblematic of the potential to bestow, linked to the right side. (Wolfson 2005, 279)

The ritual of the *Noche de Berberisca* serves to awaken these aspects in both bride and groom, in a theurgic ritual with sonic and material components. Which explains why the community performs the enactment of the necessary cultural specificity for this community's continuity through this ritual. *La noche de Berberisca,* thus remains the last bastion of Morocco's Judeo-Spanish repertoire in its original context. Today, both local and diasporic communities continue this celebration, which has become the concentrated core of the whole community's ritualised repertoire transmission. After gathering, exploring, organising, learning and interacting with the remaining Judeo-Spanish Moroccan community's repertoire in as much of its totality as remains in Morocco, I discovered that what existed as a repertoire of hundreds of songs less than a century ago[2] has been compressed into less than twenty songs that are commonly known and sung during this celebration.

This minority within a minority, the haketia speaking Jews of the Moroccan Jewish community[3] claims its heritage to be an unbroken chain of transmission since pre-Expulsion Spain. Early in my research, in the spring of 2008, Julia B. remarked about the text from the song 'De Castilla' she was teaching me from a cassette recording she had of her mother singing. It referred to the wars happening in the reconquista in Leon, and with a surprised tone she said

> We should know that the Rey Leon was that one from Castile that was … how I told you … because they say … "There the moors should kill him and take out his heart" Those were the wars of Spain with … ! [4]

Here, she falls silent, as even within the privacy of her home, she does not want to voice the details of the reconquista war between Muslims and Christians in the Iberian peninsula, still a painful history within the Andalusian-heavy communities of northern Morocco demonstrating that 'Jews' actions and assertions with regard to their common sociality are constantly marked by what they imagine to be the outsider's (i.e. Muslim's) critical observing eye'. (Levy 2020, 1581).

This article will demonstrate how the findings in my research complicate the narrative of exclusive Spanish 'lineage' of this community, because what is said by my interlocutors and how they relate to their own identities, repertoires and performativity of belonging shows them to be intrinsically Moroccan, notwithstanding a heavy linguistic and literary link to Spain.

Morocco's Jewish community is dominated by a large Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Amazigh community which has their own musical repertoire.[5]

Crucial to our discussion, is the fact that in all of Morocco's Jewish musical life, the gender of the performer determines which repertoire is sung. Male singers perform ritual liturgical repertoire in Hebrew and Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Spanish or Judeo-Amazigh as well as popular secular Moroccan Arabic, Amazigh, Spanish, and French repertoires. Women performers sing repertoires that are predominantly in Jewish languages (Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Amazigh, Haketia and rarely Hebrew) or popular Spanish and French songs. The vast majority of women do not know or sing the liturgical repertoire, nor will they perform their internal repertoires in public. Using Judeo-Spanish songs from the oral tradition in repetitive ritual utterance[6] (Havelock 1986), Jewish women fulfil the role of guardians of the group's integrity through their voices that sing about strictly controlled sexuality. Not only do women control against assimilation to the majority culture in Morocco through sexual abstinence before marriage or strict fidelity after marriage, but they also resist the political project of the total homogenisation of world Judaism which has accelerated with the founding of the state of Israel. This primordial communicative function is what makes music making intrinsically important to society, and particularly to ethnic and gender minorities in this region (Yelles 1990; Alahyane 1991; Lacoste-Dujardin 1993, 2008; Chetrit 1998; Alexander-Frizer and Bentolila 2008; Anahory-Librowicz 2008; Glasser 2016, 2017, 2020; Silver 2020; Elbaz 2016, 2020, 2021 forthcoming) (Figure 1).

Women's tenacious non-acculturation to international Judaism is performed through the maintenance of local traditions marking the specificity of their local group. Their sonic role in maintaining historically local lineages continues within circumscribed familial, geographic and linguistic spaces. These bands of sonic belonging become a form of constructing the space of Jewishness and its gradations within Moroccan society through sound, song and context.

Judeo-Spanish songs from Northern Morocco have become currency of the symbolic power of the historic ties of Morocco's Jewish community to Spain and Spanish intellectual history. They are occasionally deployed by Spanish cultural institutions to establish the undeniable links of Morocco's Haketia (and other) speaking Jews to Spain.[7]

One of the points that are most significant about the transmission of identity through the music of the Jews from northern Morocco is that it is performed through elements that derived from cultures of contact, through an oscillation between its musical repertoire which is perceived to be exclusively internal and the repertoire of the 'external' world. As previous studies of Maghrebi music have shown, music genre, social position and expressive behaviour are a common principle in the Maghreb and have social and political meaning in relation to one another (Langlois 2009, 227). One can thus conclude that public sphere repertoires, which I name below as 'external'

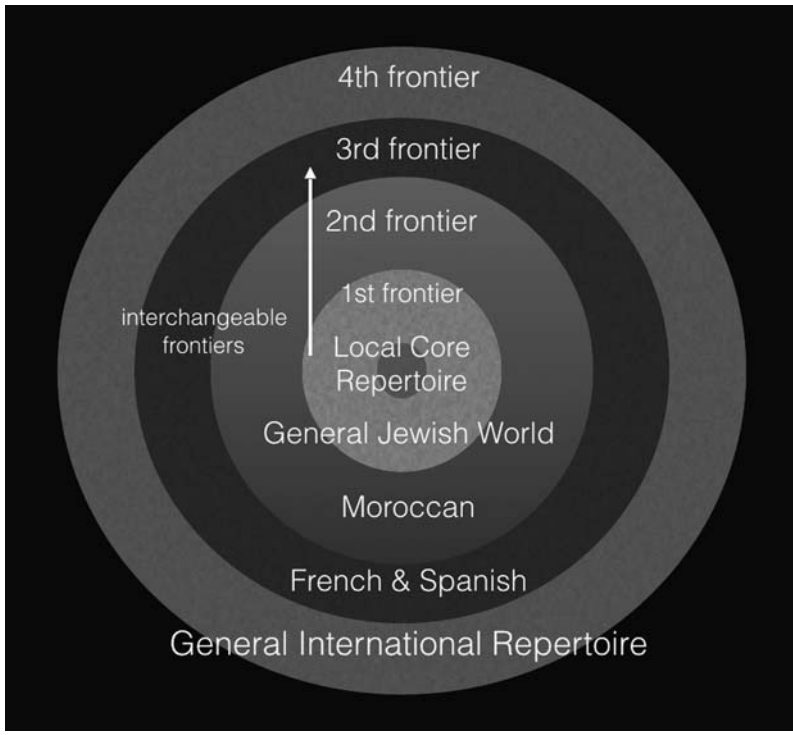

Figure 1. Jewish Northern Morocco's Musical Repertoire Bands of Sonic Identities.

are crucial in informing and influencing social and political meanings around Jews within the nation and 'internal' repertoires serve to reiterate cultural specificity and cement the minority group.

My research question focuses on the preponderant importance of a repertoire that is almost completely forgotten and that has almost totally disappeared from the lived experience of judeo-hispano-Moroccans. The question that drove my research was, what remains when almost everything has been forgotten and why is it that that remains and not the rest?

My study draws on theories regarding identity and boundaries especially those of Wimmer (2008), Glenn and Sokoloff (2010) and Bronner (2014). My research conclusions are ground-breaking within the study of Morocco's Jewish community because of the conclusions that appeared when classifying musical repertoire within a theoretical context of identity and communal structuring, in addition to the fact that my results establish the protecting role of women's songs within the Jewish population of northern Morocco.

My research strategy was based on participant observation followed by informal interviews and later by recorded interviews during a period of twelve years (2007–2019) in Morocco. This allowed me to gather numerous oral histories from 115+ informants and to gather recordings of 153

different songs from their repertoire. It must be noted that this community is generally very private, secretive, almost hermetic and impermeable regarding its inner mechanisms. I was able to penetrate because of my own integration to this ancestral world by nourishing personal connections which allowed me to enter the private sphere of many of the last members of this community who had witnessed a world that has all but disappeared today. There was a transmission that occurred between them and myself, partly because I am a woman, a native Spanish speaker and observant of Jewish religious traditions. As a performer of this musical tradition, the community saw that I was working towards the inscription of this rarely heard Jewish repertoire into the national heritage of Morocco.[8] During this period, I have noted the developments surrounding the integration of Jewish Moroccan identity into the national secular identity of Morocco which was pushed by the government and NGOs after the ratification of the Constitution in 2011.[9] In the Constitutional referendum of 2011, the Hebraic component of the secular national identity was added to a list of elements forming the plurality of Moroccanness.[10] It was the slow collection of these materials that allowed me to revisit and deepen the questions that came up during my fieldwork.

Using interviews, field observation, and the texts and melodies of the songs which have been studied previously by multiple scholars since the beginning of the twentieth century, as well as taking into account three unpublished song manuscripts which I discovered from 1898, 1913 and 2006 I identified that the integration of 'external' repertoires was not just a product of modernity but had always been present within this musical culture.[11] At the beginning of my fieldwork, I should clarify, I did not find these 'non-Sephardi' repertoires to be of use or interest to my own project. It was only later that I understood clearly the symbiotic relationship between the internal and external repertoires.

The original research question driving this project was in search for an answer to why the Moroccan Judeo-Spanish speaking Jewish community feels so intensely committed to its Judeo-Spanish repertoire in the local Haketia[12] language. The most immediate repertoire that they describe symbolises their own cultural specificity stems from Spanish *romance* tradition with narratives of nobility, castles and cities such as Toledo and Granada, appears to be in contradiction to their lived reality within Morocco and its diasporas. Furthermore, their commitment to traditional songs during specifically charged ritual moments of the life-cycle continues to be strong, even though the original manner and contexts in which the repertoire flourished for centuries are almost completely forgotten and obsolete. Numerous studies have been done during the twentieth century on this Sephardi Moroccan repertoire and generally focus on the Spanish roots of the texts of the romances[13], considered to be the most ancient and the most 'important' thus, the most studied. But a desire to guard a repertoire that was purely

Spanish for nostalgia did not seem to address the fundamental issues of the mechanism of internal functionality within the community itself.

During my fieldwork I focused on understanding the importance of these songs even though they seemed to have nothing in common with their lives in Morocco, and that in a surprising fashion, many of them were focused on topics of sex and the violence that was generated from sexual infractions to accepted societal rules. I explored if the songs had metaphors or pertinent messages for the community, what these messages were and what could be understood about the communal structures and their internal rules thanks to the repetition of these messages kept and transmitted by women. My research also addressed the mechanisms and reasons for the interpenetration of liturgical, humorous, exemplary, historic, & satirical repertoires and how this entanglement functioned for their multi-dimensional identity construction until today. A semiotic analysis of the manners and moments in which songs are used to establish belonging responds to a semiotic complex that elucidates 'the socially situated, relationally understood sign, be it sung, spoken, written, performed or embodied' (Faudree 2012, 530). In other words, it is not only the text of songs that merits analysis, but the signs of behaviour and perception surrounding the song, including but not limited to the moment and context of its creation and performance, the performer, the perceived audience, the implied messages and spoken and unspoken reactions. These semiotic signs demonstrate what musicologist Suzanne Cusick has explained as 'the acoustic as a force field of power'. Through music and song Moroccan Jewish women use the acoustic as described thus:

> … human subjectivity is produced through the interaction of sensory reception and sensory perceptible response … Thus do we turn space into place, and place into intelligible, navigable worlds … we are interpolated in a symbolic order, into language and into social relations. (2013, 277–278)

Keeping in mind that these communities are almost completely gone from their original geographic emplacement in Morocco today[14], it seemed very important to me to see what remained of the repertoire today, during this transitional moment, before the complete disappearance of these communities of northern Morocco and if that might give some clues about the core which impulses the totality of this repertoire which is markedly identity-supportive.

I then re-focused my question to the following: 'What internal use does this complex repertoire have to ensure and impulse the continuity of this minority?'

It is crucial to understand that when observing the total repertoire of the Judeo-Spanish speaking community of Morocco there is a large quantity of material that is not considered as belonging to a repertoire that is strictly

identity-forming. Many songs from popular Moroccan Arabic repertoire, French, Spanish, Israeli, North and South American repertoires are known and sung at various moments of social gatherings or intimate moments of daily life.

Beginning in the late nineteenth-century, philologists studied Sephardi oral literature as a vestige of Spanish medieval memory which had been 'frozen' in time after the expulsion (Menéndez Pidal (1956, 1973), Bénichou (1968), Alvar (1969, 1971), Armistead and Silverman (1973, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1986), Pomeroy (2005), Díaz-Mas and Sánchez Pérez (2013) etc.). Three generations of studies on *Romances* present a preponderantly homogeneous picture of *hispanidad* as the driving force behind a rich and dynamic singing tradition, which was mainly transmitted by Sephardi women throughout the Mediterranean diaspora.

Historically scholars have linked Sephardi orature as a straight and unique line to Spanish literary culture. Quoting examples from 16th and seventeenth century printed *romanceros*, as well as the remaining oral tradition in Spain, the Spanish link seemed undeniable. The Spanish colonial project used this tradition and its '*hispanidad*' to buttress their colonial expansion in various geographic locations, most notably in northern Morocco. After the Spanish-American war and the loss of Cuba and Puerto Rico, Spain turned its views to North Africa, and finding 'Spanish' speaking Sephardim there and throughout the Mediterranean began a decades long campaign of philo-Sephardism which had political and colonial underpinnings (Ojeda Mata 2018, 36). The fact that it was Sephardi women's orature that was used to support the ideology behind this colonial project is telling.

The acoustic as a force field of power

The reality of what Sephardim sing, conserve and transmit is a layered interweaving of local, multilingual oral repertoire built over traces of historic material gathered by the community throughout its migrations, plus newly adapted pieces from current cultural influences. The influences integrated into the Sephardi *romancero* produced texts which are clearly in negotiation with history. Thus, Sephardi women's oral traditions are full of literary connections to Muslim and Christian texts, that show that Jewish women were knowledgeable with the subjects and characters from other traditions (Pomeroy 2000; Anahory-Librowicz 2008). Even though some of my interlocutors said they were enclosed within the *judería*, as in Tetuan, their language and oral traditions reveal that there were deep exchanges with wider Moroccan society that formed the basis for both their identity and history. This reality is more expansive than the one presented by the scholarship which mostly restricts it to the *romancero* tradition, playing into hegemonic tropes which link *romance* texts to philology and Spanish literature

(Menendez Pidal, Bénichou, Armistead & Silverman, Díaz-Mas, Pomeroy). The scholars who chose to focus on gender aspects (Cohen 1993, 2011; Weich-Shahak 2009; Salama 2009; Elbaz 2009) or local specificities found within humorous repertoire (Cohen 1987; Weich-Shahak 2008; Elbaz 2016) have begun the task of identifying the musical creativity within the community and its interaction with their current life. The culturally specific oral repertoire (Life-cycle songs, Paraliturgical songs, Satiric songs, Liturgical chants) from this community is then confined to anthropological, ethnomusicological or liturgical study, not reaching the status of a valuable literary contribution, as the *romance* repertoire enjoys.

What I have found to be most revealing method of understanding the material's inner use is to demonstrate how the central theme of each song, connected to other criteria such as context and moment of performance gives it a particular symbolic function within the societal structuring. Thus, I created a detailed table including every piece of the repertoire which I collected with all its various aspects.[15] This allowed me to obtain a panoramic vision of the totality of the repertoire and was only possible by extracting the core meaning of each song which in turn justified its symbolic function and its contextual use. The texts, their meaning and themes were always central to women's discussion around the songs, however, the melody was not. Men would refer to the melodies in the case of using one of them within the liturgy as a contrafactum to remember a female ancestor because these were the songs *de las judias*, of the Jewish women, so they were given an appearance within the synagogue (Elbaz 2015). This usage of women's melodies created a judeo-hispano-moroccan specificity within the traditional Hebrew liturgical texts within the space of the synagogue. For the women, the melody of their text can change and what is most important is to pass the message of the song. It is a clear example of mediated communication.

During the process of collecting the repertoire four issues appeared repeatedly: memory loss, humour, remembering historic moments for the community and the recuperation of a lost world through the singing of the songs.

(1) Memory loss – even though most of the repertoire is forgotten and most people only remember short phrases, partial pieces or nothing except for a vague memory of the sound of their mothers and aunts singing, they evoke powerful feelings around the songs of their ancestors.
(2) The issue of humour – Very often songs that were remembered that evoke the cultural particularity of their city or members of their restricted social group were humorous, cementing the social boundaries around the group in self-deprecatory humour such as demonstrated in Evelyn Dean Olmstead's study on Syrian Jews in Mexico (2018) and Nina Pinto Abecassis' study on nicknames in Tetuan's Jewish community (2014).

(3) Remembering historic moments from the community: many amongst them talked about the feeling of reliving past moments when they sang – they could even see the disappeared people and places and had the feeling of a sort of unification between the present moment with the past, or a collapsing of linear time. Just mentioning the songs brings up this feeling immediately, a temporal collapse between a moment that exists in their memory and the very moment of evoking or singing a song (Elbaz 2017).
(4) The recuperation of a lost world – various informants, generally of an advanced age, would open the door of their memory to bring details and songs that belonged to a world which is as lost for us as it is for them. These recordings help to place a context around previous recordings, on the large Judeo-Spanish community from Morocco and their relationship to the messages inscribed within this repertoire (Benoudis Basilio 2007).

As I said above, most of the repertoire that was collected and analysed during the twentieth century in Morocco has been forgotten. Starting with Manuel Manrique de Lara's 1914–1915 excursions, Zarita Nahon's collect in the 1920s, followed by Henrietta Yurchenco's recordings from 1956 soon after independence, Armistead and Silverman's excursions from the 1960s, Judith Cohen's in the 1970s and 1980s show us the transformation of the repertoire. Studies in Spain's Moroccan community (Anahory-Librowicz 1980), Canada (Anahory-Librowicz 1988 and Cohen 1987) and Israel (Weich-Shahak 1989) have been used as an example of what Paloma Díaz-Mas calls the 'sunset' of the Sephardi oral tradition (2008, 256). Many of my informants have only a vague memory of songs that their mothers, grandmothers or aunts sang. They may not even remember any texts but only a fleeting portion of a melody, one of the characters, the story it told or the moments in which they heard them singing. When I asked them what their repertoire, specific to northern Morocco was, I would get varying and often contradictory answers from men and women, because of the general societal divisions between men's and women's worlds, which has a direct impact on musical repertoires and their performative contexts. Repeatedly, the repertoire that they referred to as 'lo nuestro' was presented as a compacted series of weddings songs, romances, humorous songs and a para-liturgical copla or two (Figure 2).

This new relationship of the community itself to their judeo-hispano-moroccan repertoire made me question if the previously established scholarly categories bore any resemblance to how the singers related to their own music in Morocco today. Confronting previously assigned scholarly categories with those of the community itself and the current relationship of this community to its remaining repertoire, showed that the inner structuring

Figure 2. Estrella Bentolila standing on the talamón on her Noche de Berberisca in Tetuan in the 1960s

separated *cantares de novia* (songs for the bride)[16] and *Cantares antiguos de Castilla* (ancient songs from Castile)[17] as the two major categories that my interlocutors used to describe these songs.[18] But when they were pressed, they said that every single song could be sung for the bride, *la novia*. When I pressed further, asking if even laments could be sung for the bride, they immediately gasped aghast that I would even suggest such a terrible thing. This of course, demonstrated that there was a multi-leveled internal categorisation that had only been partially verbalised, but that had clear

boundaries and overlappings. My analysis of the repertoire collected, combined with earlier studies and the internal description from the members of the community itself brought me to recategorize the terminology for the repertoire. Comparing local categories[19] with categories within the century-long scholarship corpus and a variety of implicit material from my field work, I arrived to nine categories (Romances, Cantares from the life cycle, Paraliturgical coplas, Satiric songs, Liturgical songs, Nanas (Lullabies), Children's Songs, 'Ala and Miscellaneous). This categorisation took into account a system of categorisation established by Fürniss and Varol (2011) through analysing 'the verbalised and verbalizable, those things which are implicitly shared, the collective unconscious, phenomena of society's surface and inner core and system dynamics' (2011: 475).[20]

Repertoire divisions

Romances: The category of Romance has existed within academia for more than a century and has penetrated the local nomenclature for their music in cases where people have had access to these studies. Romances appear in various contexts and functions and could belong to various categories, but their daily use, added to the fact that they are used during specific ritual contexts as well as moments of intimacy between mothers and their children, makes the distinctive factor to be its uniform poetic form instead of its use within the community.

Life cycle cantares: The Life cycle cantares are the Judeo-Spanish repertoire that are sung during life cycle celebrations. In certain cases, during life-cycle celebrations, romances are also sung. But, since those have a specific narrative and poetic form and are used in varied circumstances and contexts, they are not considered exclusively as Cantares for the life-cycle. Those remain as Romances even if on occasion they have the same contextual use of a life-cycle cantar.

Paraliturgical coplas: The paraliturgical coplas demonstrate the category of repertoire which is sung during rituals that do not belong to the formal liturgy and that generally are in the vernacular. Their distinctive traits are use and language.

Satiric songs: Satiric songs are a category of recent repertoire which was used throughout the twentieth century in northern Morocco to make social and historic commentaries on the behaviour of the group. They often use European melodies in contrafacta; on other occasions the melodies appear to be newly composed.

Liturgical songs: All sung prayers during the liturgy are classified under the rubric of liturgical song, be they psalms, liturgical poems (piyyutim) or diverse prayers, it is their liturgical use within the canonical prayer that primes over elements such as language, melody, rhythm or poetic form.

Nanas/Lullabies: Nanas are usually Spanish songs. Within my corpus, they are used exclusively as lullabies. Romances are also used to put children to sleep, but I do not classify them as nanas for the reasons discussed earlier. A whole series of nanas within my corpus comes from Spanish copla repertoire, and were mentioned by my informant as being a copla sung to children to sleep, with no reference to the previously studied matesha coplas (Weich-Shahak 1989), which is why I have left them as an independent category. *Teshe lo Meshe* is the only song mentioned by my informants as a copla de matesha.

Children's songs: Children's songs are a category of material described as that which is sung by children in school or at summer camps. Ethnomusicologist Shoshana Weich-Shahak has worked on this repertoire, which she has named 'repertorio infantil' (2001). Their distinctive trait is their performance at school or summer camp – and then entering the home and moments of play with other children.

'Ala: The category of 'Ala is based on the use of Arabo-Andalusian melodies which were used as a melodic base to make a contrafacta in haketia. It is the only category which is based on a melodic consideration. This example shows the different relationship that Judeo-Spanish speaking Jews living in Casablanca have with the majority culture.

Miscellaneous: Within the category of miscellaneous repertoire we find a whole series of foreign songs, from Spain, France, Cuba, Brazil, Israel and the Judeo-Spanish from the Ottoman Empire (Ladino).

Three general themes concern most of the repertoire I collected: sanctification, both of God and the group; group boundaries (adultery, fidelity, incest, marriage outside the group); and fertility (beauty of the bride, virility of the groom, birth of children). The repertoire also maintains its fidelity to the thematic foci in distinct categories as such:

(1) Liturgical songs: Sanctification
(2) Romances: Group boundaries
(3) Life cycle coplas: Fertility

The following table presents the repertoire collected for the three main thematic foci in the repertoire collected. The numbers following the repertoire's title are from my unpublished list of full repertoire collected.

My analysis brought me to create the following graph which demonstrates the divisions between the repertoires that form the totality of their musical sonic spaces. The various levels that appeared once I analysed the totality of repertoire that I had collected in the field showed clear demarcations between repertoires which present five distinct levels from core to general and which determine their engagement and construction with a specific Judeo-Hispano Moroccan identity (Table 1).

Table 1. Thematic foci of Repertoire collected.

Group boundaries	Celebration of the group	El Pajaro en el Nido #45, Baruch hu baruch #18, Demandado de los sabios #33, El Rey de Portugal #47, El Romance de Solika #48, Empezar quero cantar #54, Esther mi bien #64, Nuestra Esperanza #102 Vivas los judios #138 Vivas tu y viva yo #139
Sexual boundaries		
	Adultery	Rosablanca #119, Este servillano #62, #63, Hasiba y Nisim #68, Ella me lleva a su casa #51, Landarico #87 Yo me levantara un lunes #153
	Avoided adultery	Rahel Lastimoza #114, Rosablanca/Arrelumbre #115
	Faithful wife	Escuchís señor soldado #59, De noche cuando me acuesto #31 Una Hija tiene el Rey #135
	Incest	El Rey David #46, La Delgada #80
	Proof of faithfulness to mother-in-law	Mi nuera garrida #95
Internal group boundaries		
	Transgression of social hierarchies	Gerineldo #65, Preso llevan a Bergico #109
	Love against parental desires	Esta ciudad de Toledo y la de Granada #58, Que se pensaba la Reina Siempre oí decir #126
	Infanticide and cannibalism	Estábase sentada la niña #60
External group boundaries		
	Kidnapping and reintegration to the group	La Reina Xerifa Mora #84, Al Pasar por los Torneos #5
	Transgressions because of bad influences	Bellida Bellida #19, Cuando todos los Cristianos #26
Fertility	Beauty of the bride	Pasa la novia #103, Dice la nuestra novia #36, Aspera Señor #10 Shohant basadé #125
	Celebration of the bed	Ay Esterica #14, Despedida de la novia #35, Avram Avinu #13, Holita #75
	Aphrodisiaque meal	Dai de senar #28
	Virility and pregnancy	Biba Ordueña #21, El Paipero #44, Holita #75, La que paría los hijos #83
	Virginity and Purity of the Bride	Voy hacia la cama para ver la almohada #141, Dainos a la novia #29
Sanctification	Praises to God	Dayenou #30, Empezar quero cantar #54, El Hai Sur 'Olamim #40,

	Alabado sea #6, Bendigamos #20, Chalom Aleihem #24, El Adon #39, Kedushá, #78, Hodu de Pessah #74, Lecha Dodi #90, Looremos al nuestro señor #91, Mipi El #97 Moshe subió a los shamayim#154 Shirulo amerulo #123 Shiru shiva shevah #124 Torat Emet #134 Ya vendrá el Señor #146 Mosé salió de los Shamayim#154
Thanks to God	Buena Semana #22, Hi Tora lanu Nitana #73, Ele moade #49
Penitential prayers	Ad-nai shama tishhimahá #3, Anenu #8, El Nora Alilá #42, Elohai al Tedineni #52 Shabbat Haniyin #122 Yeded Rashin #149

The five levels of repertoire collected are:

(1) Core repertoire – which comprise the songs sung by older women for brides, children and family and communal gatherings, as well as during daily tasks and moments of quiet intimacy. This is the repertoire most usually studied by ethnomusicologists when looking at the material of this community during the twentieth century.
(2) *Lo nuestro* (our repertoire) – This level comprises the core repertoire but has the addition of historic and satiric songs that tell of historical moments of the specific community, city, family, or country. Many of these newly composed songs use *contrafactum* from external repertoire melodies with new texts written by writers who are usually anonymous.
(3) General Jewish world repertoire – The liturgical and paraliturgical repertoire in Hebrew that connects the Jews from Northern Morocco to the rituals practiced by Jews around the world takes them out of total cultural specificity as it links them to the wider Jewish world. Within this level, texts are mostly shared with the wider Jewish world as well as some melodies. Most melodies are specific to Morocco and even to a city, town, or family. This anchors their connection with general Jewish practice back unto their local specificity and ownership.
(4) Moroccan and Spanish repertoire – Both Moroccan classical and popular repertoires (Arabo-Andalusian, Chgoury, Melhoun, Riffi) as well as popular Spanish repertoires (Flamenco, coplas, villancicos) are sung at communal and family gatherings.

(5) General International repertoire – This general international repertoire includes Tango, Rock, French Chanson, Israeli music and others according to the individual's musical taste.

The musical repertoire of Moroccan Jews reflects the full spectrum of simultaneous cultural and linguistic affiliations which is transnational and highly mobile. It is in their temporal and contextual use which indicates the way they use these varied repertoires to negotiate their belonging to a virtually impermeable internal hermetic local community, the larger Moroccan Jewish community, the general Jewish world, the Moroccan national identity, an affiliation with Spanish and French culture and the general deterritorialized world.

To establish discrete spaces of musical belonging, I have named these repertoires 'external' and 'internal'. However, it bears to keep in mind that the boundaries between these categories are blurry, and often can be highly mutable. Albeit these caveats, I have found time and again that Moroccan Jews classify their musical repertoires along lines of belonging and exteriorisation. These bands of sonic belonging become a form of constructing the space of Jewishness and its gradations within Moroccan society through sound, song and context. 'External' repertoires are those which are perceived to 'belong' to the surrounding cultures. 'Internal' repertoires are those which have been appropriated as 'belonging' to the Jewish community itself. However, the lines between the two get blurred in cases when the 'external' repertoire shifts the original 'external' message to an internal Jewish function, only understood by the inside group. It is this sort of oscillation between internal and external messages and repertoires that aids Moroccan Jews in the cementing of their cultural specificity and identity. This manner of negotiation of complex identities follows sociologist Andreas Wimmer's model of multilevel nested segments of differentiation (2008, 976).

Through the oscillation from 'external' repertoires into internal moments of intimacy and 'internal' repertoires to public and semi-public moments of life cycle rituals, contemporary Moroccan Jews seamlessly navigate through their multiplicity of communities and affiliations, while protecting their very own cultural specificity, demonstrating the 'shifting boundaries of belonging' (Glen and Sokoloff, 5). They layer on every new language and identity, integrating its repertoire in some manner, while remaining attached to the 'internal' songs that, for them, denote their historical, linguistic and geographical particularities demonstrating the 'boundary construction and maintenance between groups, representing and symbolizing meaning in cultural expression' (Bronner, 24).

The first two levels in the graph are strictly internal, however the third, comprised of liturgical chants in Hebrew, contains texts that are shared by the general Jewish world with melodies that belong exclusively to this

group, confirming thus the specific identity of the group through the melody. Within this transitional level between *lo nuestro* (our repertoire) and the external, melodies that are considered to belong to women's repertoires are used in *contrafactum* during Jewish holidays that have an agricultural implication, such as Sukkot, Passover and Shavuot. Only when the Jewish holidays have an agricultural implication[21], one that is linked to the seasons and the fertility of the earth that the liturgical poetry or *piyyutim* show the presence of the feminine voice, with the presence of Judeo-Spanish (haketia or ladino) within the religious rite in the synagogue (Elbaz 2015). This linguistic presence within the religious rite, which is usually completely done in Hebrew, confirms the fact that all these elements are linked within this community: rite, song, gender, and fertility.

The moment and context of performances divided according to moments of an individual's life, community life, weekly and daily cycles in connection to both solar and lunar calendars demonstrate this community's intimate behaviour surrounding time, context, and place. Once I separated the repertoire according to its moment and context, I found stark demarcations of the repertoire of both individual or communal moments. The issue of the connection of the three holidays of pilgrimage, which were originally agricultural festivals of the Jewish calendar, to melodies from female repertoires confirms the connection between woman-land-fertility-Torah.

This fertility song from northern Morocco which is sung for a bride's wedding and danced together with specific choreographies equates the woman's womb with the land:

Biba Ordueña lo sembra en su arenal

Y ansin lo sembra Biba Ordueña

Y ansin metia los pies en la mar

Y ansin me enseñaron a bailar.

Biba Ordueña lo corto en su arenal

Y ansin lo corto Biba Ordueña

Y ansin metia los pies en la mar

Y ansin me enseñaron a bailar.

Biba Ordueña lo afecha en su arenal

Y ansin lo afecha Biba Ordueña

Y ansin metia los pies en la mar

Y ansin me enseñaron a bailar … [22]

The choreography has erotic insinuations and one of my informants mentioned that sometimes to tease the women, men would sing it in front of them with the dance moves, causing great embarrassment for certain women who were more conservative. Alegría B. described this process for me in January 2008:

> AB –Pero esto lo cantaban mucho, pero lo cantaban como si fuera una cosa una canción pícara. Tiene un doble sentido, yo se cual, que cuando cantaban Ordueña las mujeres siempre se enrojecían y los hombres se daban el placer de cantarlo, pero tenía que ser pícara.[23]

However, in single-gender groups, women would sing and dance it as part of the inner feminine understanding of the power of their sexuality and fertility. Examples of erotic wedding songs have been documented in Canada (Cohen and Librowicz 1986: 193–194) and even women's slang for the male sexual organ and images of testicles after wedding night intercourse appear in song texts (Cohen 1987: 60).

Private, public, and semi-public spaces present overlapping repertoire and relationships between the vernacular, the ritual and the singing of men or women as demarcated here:

Domestic – where this repertoire was and is still sung: The bride's bedroom, the kitchen where shabbat and festival meals are prepared, the bedroom of the mother and recently born baby, around a table while having a meal, in the living room.

Communal (semi-public) – semi-public spaces where this repertoire was and continues to be sung are: around a table during a life-cycle communal celebration, in the waiting room of the mikve (the ritual bath), in the house of the groom, around the tomb of a *Tsaddik*, in an events hall, in a care home, at the public oven in the old city.

Public – The only public space which still exists today is the theatre, in the performances that are given of Judeo-Spanish repertoires. All the public spaces where previously the community would sing the repertoire as part of celebrations of the Jewish calendar or of life-cycle events do not exist anymore as spaces used for rituals. Those previously used public spaces were in front of the door of the groom's house, in front of the door of the bride's house, in the hall of the bride's building, in the streets of the *judería*.

I have observed that between the private sphere which has a strong female presence and the public sphere which has a strong male presence there is an intermediate communal sphere, where gendered sonic boundaries are blurred. It is precisely during this moment and in this sphere where masculine and feminine voices mix, that I observe that messages pass between communal written and oral knowledge. The most important moment of this process is the *Noche de Berberisca,* when the bride dressed in a traditionally goldthread embroidered dress represents a moment of

maximal sacrality. Men and woman are present, and women's voices dominate during this life-cycle ritual which happens the night before the ritual wedding under the canopy, or *huppah*. During this precise moment, *la novia* represents the central core point of the ensemble of the whole community, and is surrounded by various protective circles: the ritual dress itself, the symbol of the sun which is embroidered on the dress, the processional circles or *hakafot* of the *hebra*, community notables, around her, and the melodies and texts of the song that surround her, like a protective sonic circle. This is the physical representation of the internal and external community circles from the graph described above. The protective circle of orality itself protects the community in its interaction with the quotidian and ritual spaces.

In focusing on the role of women's songs in the transmission of identity, my analysis finds that it is the sonic protection of identity boundaries through song that has ensured the continuity of this local Judaism. The ritual function of the repertoire that concentrates on the protection of lineages through the restriction of uncontrolled female sexuality, insulates the group from assimilation and thus assures what is traditionally perceived to be the spiritual transcendence of the community. An interview with Jan B., an 80-year-old man in Tangier in May 2008, describes the importance of a bride's purity, comparing them to chaste Roman priestesses and explaining the fundamental necessity for women's purity within this culture.[24]

JB: … I think that in all religions purity is important. Romans, Greeks etc, because this (pointing to a picture of a bride), this is the Vestal Virgins.
VPE: What is that?
JB: They were priestesses that were pure, that could not cohabit with a man.
VPE: Priestesses, oh how interesting!! Where was this, the Vestal Virgins?
JB: Rome.
VPE: In other words the bridal gown comes from Rome, but if they couldn't cohabitate why is the women who will marry dressed as a priestess?
JB: To prove that she IS pure.
VPE: of course! She is pure so he will be with a pure woman that is like a priestess.
…
JB: But, it may have to do in some Roman festivals women prostituted themselves
VPE: But the Torah is was written before the Romans
JB: Let me look …
VPE: But can we look in our tradition and not in the Roman?
…
JB: Because we must look at this problem not just from a purely Jewish viewpoint.
VPE: You think we should look everywhere. For example all the romances that we have, so many of them are about women and also about impure women. You told me there is a romance that is sung on a piyyut for your grandfather? And you told me you did not like that

romance, you did not like the words of that romance to be put together with that piyyut.

JB: [singing] *What is that Fray Pedro, what is that sir? With this rifle and with these bullets I fire?* Fray Pedro, I heard it recently.

VPE: Exactly! There are all these songs that are about sex! It's been a shock for me to realise that, in such a conservative society, but maybe it wasn't?

JB: Well, you must take into account that **sex is everything.**

VPE: Why?

JB: Life comes from sex. If there is no sex …

VPE: There are no children.

JB: And so because of chauvinism, men want to be the first.

The conflation of a Jewish bride in Jan's discourse with the Vestal Virgins, implies a communally expected bodily ascetic discipline for Jewish women, similar to neo-platonic asceticism reminiscent of practices from antiquity (Wills 2006, 905). This confirms that it is women that ensure the *tahara* or ritual purity of the group. Their sexuality is then transformed into sanctified sexuality and the ensuing fertility. Because of the bride's central role in ensuring the transmission of the specificity of the group it is this very ritual which is still currently celebrated on the eve of the wedding. During this ritual of the *Noche de Berberisca*, even in the twenty-first century, we find all five categories of songs that belong exclusively to the group performed for the bride, couple and community: romances, cantares from the life cycle, satirical songs, paraliturgical coplas and liturgical songs.

The moment of the Berberisca becomes 'the' moment of transmission of the group's judeo-hispano-moroccan identity in contemporary times, where all previous contexts have receded and left only this one functioning ritual moment during the lifecycle. It continues to operate as the central transmitter of the group's identity at the very moment in which the woman's sexuality becomes sanctified in the interest of the group's survival. This is the moment where this repertoire, which is linked to the ritual becomes the mechanism of ancestral transmission and the repertoire sanctifies the woman's body. Time stops and the bride is transformed into a *Sefer Torah,* the holy scroll read publicly in synagogue which comprises the five books of Moses and is called the tree of life, *etz hayim*. All the other uses of the repertoire are secondary and support this essential one which is the exaltation of the purity of lineage. This incarnation of bride as holy text point to a ritualised enacting of what Jewish mystical writings explained in the 13th and 14th centuries: 'the textual panorama of medieval kabbalah, the site of the incarnational insight is the ontographic inscripting of flesh into word and the consequent conversion of the carnal body into the ethereal, luminous body, finally transposed into the literal body that is the letter, hyper literally, the name that is the Torah … presum[ing] a correlation of body and book, … for Jews, the book is the textualization of the body'

(Wolfson: 481-482). The embodiment of bride as holy book, dressed in a ritual garment similar to a Torah mantle, replete with symbology of fertility and sun dials and moons, is sung to with mystical chants by the elders of the community as she is processed out of her home towards the groom's house, she is then processed in circles (*hakafot*) around the groom's home and then placed on a *talamon*, raised stage, surrounded by empty Torah mantles and her mother and future mother-in-law present the power of bride as holy symbol. Once she is on the *talamon*, the songs in *haketia* begin, completing the sonic impregnation of *baraka* or blessing to this bride, before she will be 'read' by her husband after the marriage is consummated the next evening.

Integrating 'external' musics

It is only once reaching the fourth level of the graph, that which is sung for children, that the integration with cultures of contact begins. The fifth level, which is the furthest from the centre (*lo nuestro*) is that which interacts with the music of all cultures who are not direct cultures of contact for geographic or historic-political reasons.

Through the oscillation between the various repertoires, their languages and their messages of indirect communication, this minority group negotiates its relationship between what is considered external and that which is denoted 'internal'. Within the confluence of these moments, languages, musics and messages this group's particularities are highlighted. This minority of a minority (Judeo-Spanish speaking minority of the Jewish minority of Morocco) navigates its relationship with the external world while maintaining a strict internal boundary by sonically engaging with its multiple 'belongings' through quotidian, communal, personal, intimate and ritual moments that incorporate elements from the 'other'. Their musical incorporation of the 'other' such as the example of the Spanish coplas as *nanas* during intimate moments of a mother with a child helps to nurture a familiarity with the cultures of contact which demonstrates that even through the boundaries of this group are strict, they are not hermetically sealed. It is this very porosity that protects it regarding the majority culture. One of the cultural strategies of Sephardi Jews for centuries has been the interpenetration of literary, musical and cultural elements from the cultures with which they live into both religious and secular life. Examples of this can be seen in the *maftirim* repertoire of Turkish Jews, filled with 'Ottoman Jewish compositions and adaptations of non-Jewish pieces' (Jackson 2013: 167) as well as the music of the *pizmonim* of Syrian Jews in New York (Kaufman Shelemay 1999) and the musical play between intimacy and friendship between Muslims and Jews in Algeria (Glasser 2020). The cultural compenetrating of this complex repertoire with strong elements from the cultures of contact creates situations of

regional and national belonging, beyond any linguistic or religious specificity. With Haketía, Moroccan Judeo-Spanish, the Jews of Northern Morocco employ the specificity of their Jewish identity within the complexity of Jewish Morocco, Sephardi and general Mediterranean belongings. In recent years, the externalisation of this repertoire occurs through public performances, which have become a manner of protecting the group and its traditions from erasure due to massive emigration and the disappearance of the traditional geographies and contexts of performance, in a similar manner such as French Ottoman Jews have done (Roda 2018). Through the valorisation of the traditional repertoire within the general cultural patrimony of Morocco (and Spain), a positive political rapport is created, cementing their specific identity within the narratives of a larger national identity. This aids to strengthen this fragile minority group during recent periods of accelerated globalisation and mobility.[25] As I have observed that this is a long term and durable phenomenon, I believe that it is crucial to understand the significance of the presence of diverse musical sources in addition to those which are considered purely Sephardi (*Romances*, *Life-cycle cantares, Paraliturgical coplas, Liturgical chants*) and this community's new compositions (*satiric songs*). Another salient factor is the hierarchy given within the group to pieces from the oral tradition versus those which are attributed to a specific author. The earlier ones carry a higher hierarchy showing that the pieces that are perceived as part of a 'grand tradition' which manifest as a marker of the group's identity are invariably anonymous. One of my informants mentioned her pride at discovering that her mother's composition on the flood of Alcazarquivir in the 1940s had become part of the corpus of anonymous material in Canada, describing it as a sort of graduation into the great tradition of 'the ancestors'.[26] It is rare to find songs that are attributed to a specific author, and when it is so, it is usually the person themself who claims the authorship, or a member of their family.

The 'borrowed' repertoire from Moroccan, French, Spanish and Israeli cultures show the variety of relationship with various cultures of contact and the different manners of integrating the repertoire of the 'other'. Men sing 'internal' and 'external' melodies during the liturgy similarly to examples from Jewish communities from Turkey (Jackson 2013), Greece, (Rodrigue and Stein 2012), Syria (Kaufman Shelemay 1999 and Kligman 2009) and Irak (Rosenfeld Haddad 2019). Women sing these with children during moments of great intimacy, such as while putting them to sleep. This could explain why it is that a repertoire which is 'Spanish', the *romancero*, is considered a repertoire of exclusive judeo-hispano-moroccan identification of cultural specificity. This repertoire finished its process of assimilation as belonging to the group. This 'sonic assimilation' probably began soon after their arrival in Morocco after the expulsion from Spain. There are other repertoires, which I have classified as miscellaneous: Israeli, French, Spanish – also

found in their soundtrack or soundscape, but are often found during educational moments about the diversity of elements of Jewish Moroccan identity.

Conclusions

My research findings are that this repertoire functions primarily as guardian of the group, which is why it is found at the heart of the concentric circles on the graph which stands for the various musical repertoires and their placement within their layered identities. Orality and the various spaces for the negotiation of power in the Maghrebi and Judeo-Spanish world are crucial to understand the use of music within Maghrebi society, Jewish and Muslim. Orality is fundamentally important in the Maghreb, and within it we already find the delineation of gender, masculine and feminine and private & public spaces, as well as of the sacred and the profane. The most important anchoring element of identity occurs within the private sphere and the primordially feminine connection to the ancestral identity–rich space. The liminal world of communal meetings, pilgrimages and communal celebration are quite rich because it is during these moments and in these transitional spaces where women pass the most essential information to the community as a whole – in the semi-public space.

The discovery I have made is that the ritual function of the maintenance of the purity of the group has propelled the conservation of the fragmentary remnants of this once enormous repertoire, the 'sonic ruins' of the repertoire (Seroussi 2019). This tenacious maintenance is mainly because of its use to mark the identity and specificity of the group. The repertoire elucidates the central ritual role of women's songs and the bride's body which becomes an embodiment of mystical unification between the binary masculine and feminine energies needed for creation of life and the continuity of the group.

The repertoire in and of itself carries the survival of the group as a specifically identified cultural group. These songs and rituals support the group as a defined and local Judaism within global Judaism. This confirms the significance of feminine contributions within a system that is highly patriarchal.

Apart from issues around gender, and concentrating on issues of transmission of a minority group facing a majority, the questions that follow are: Is this mechanism of the use of a minority group through their voice recurrent? Is it the segment of the population which helps to maintain the boundaries of the entire societal group the one which has the most power towards its future? Is it eventually, the group which holds the least power within a society, and which is the guardian of its traditions, of their transmission and continuity of the group, that ultimately carries the heaviest load when one looks at the macro-dynamic of the group with the majority society that surrounds it? What is the relationship between the internal and external

world in relation to these voices that ensure their continuity and transmission?

Judeo-Spanish women's repertoire in Northern Morocco existed in a strong manner within this community and continues to be present despite the cataclysmic changes to these communities in the last century precisely because of the power of women in the private sphere, which is significant and is intricately necessary for this society's equilibrium. Even though it is perceived from the outside as a subtle power, the power coming from the private sphere has a deeper and more important impact within the community than the power of the public sphere (both ritual and political) which is held by the public communal institutions and those that control it, just as theorised by Foucault.[27] The feminine power in the private sphere significantly affects the public sphere and is one of the crucial and unrecognised sources of communal power in Jewish North African communities.

Notes

1. The Noche de Berberisca is a ritual held the night before the Rabbinic ceremony under the *huppah* or wedding canopy. At its center is a ritual dress embroidered with gold thread, reminiscent of the mantles that cover the holy book of the Torah, songs and in some cases, henna.
2. Much of this repertoire was gathered in the early years of the Protectorate by Manuel Manriquez de Lara (1915–1916) for Ramón Menéndez Pidal's romance project collection which is now housed in the *Archivo Menéndez Pidal* and in subsequent years by José Benoliel (1922), who collected a variety of songs in Haketia for his book *Dialecto judeo-hipano-marroquí o hakitía,* only published in full in 1977. Zarita Nahón's collection was the last one during the Spanish Protectorate until Henrietta Yurchenco's visit in 1956, when the Protectorate was coming to an end and the communities would start to disperse. Nahón did her fieldwork in 1929, while she was a philology student of Franz Boas at Columbia University. This collection was also published decades after the fieldwork, also in 1977.
3. At its height, the Haketia speaking community of northern Morocco totaled ca. 30,000, after the internal migrations and emigrations of the 20th century, in 2020 the remaining community within Morocco is under 200.
4. *Saber que el Rey León era este el de Castilla que fue … como te conté … porque dicen: "Allí le maten los moros y le saquen el corazón" ¡Éstas eran las guerras de España con … !* This example refers to the Romance *Rosablanca*, which tells the story of an adulterous wife and her demise when her husband arrives home after war to find her lover in their marital bed. In the beginning of the romance, the wife tells her lover that she wishes her husband be killed in battle and his heart excised from his body. For more on this romance see Díaz-Mas 1994a, 311; Weich-Shahak 1997, 123 and Pomeroy 2005, 70–71.
5. Some of the recent scholarship on these repertoires includes Chetrit (2013), Aidi (2014), Elmedlaoui and Azaryahu (2014), El Haddaoui (2014), Levin (2017), Seroussi (1984, 2019), Silver (2020), Aydoun (2020), Elbaz (2020, 2021 forthcoming).

6. 'What kind of language can supply this need [of transmission] and still remain oral? The answer would seem to lie in *ritualized utterance*, a traditional language which somehow becomes formally repeatable like a ritual in which the words remain in a fixed order. Such language has to be memorized. There is no other way of guaranteeing its survival. Ritualization becomes the means of memorization. The memories are personal, belonging to every man, woman and child in the community, yet their content, the language preserved, is communal, something shared by the community as expressing its tradition and its historical identity.' (Havelock 1986: 70)
7. In February of 2014 an exhibit entitled *Los Hispano judíos de Marruecos* was presented at Tangier's Instituto Cervantes gallery with the Centro Sefarad Israel in Madrid. This was met with virulent street protests during the inauguration by anti-Israel activists who lined the street opposite their exhibition space. The inauguration in Casablanca later that year was covered on national television with interviews to the President of the Jewish community, Boris Toledano and a short concert of Judeo-Spanish songs from Morocco. By 2015, Spain offered citizenship to descendants of Jews who had been expulsed. The first wave of applications had many Jews living in Morocco, some who decided to change their main residence to southern Spain while maintaining the family business in Morocco.
8. During those ten years I performed this repertoire nationally and internationally as well as on Moroccan radio and television. Various international news reports and documentaries spanning Al Jazeera, iTV, BBC, New York Times, France 24, PBS highlighted the repertoire and the work I was doing around its preservation and performance. Invariably community members would demonstrate their pride at having their internal community repertoire inscribed into the Moroccan national heritage through public representations as well as appearing internationally as one of the representations of Moroccan Jewish culture.
9. Royaume du Maroc, Chambre des Représentants, 'Constitution 2011 of Moroccan Kingdom'. Available at http://www.chambredesrepresentants.ma/en/constitution-2011-moroccan-kingdom accessed July 25, 2019. "Etat musulman souverain, attaché à son unité nationale et à son *intégrité territoriale*, le Royaume du Maroc entend préserver, dans *sa plénitude et sa diversité*, son identité nationale une et indivisible. Son unité, forge par la convergence de ses composantes arabo-islamique, amazighe et saharo-hassanie, s'est nourrie et enrichie de ses affluents africain, andalou, *hébraïque* et méditerranéen. La prééminence accordée à la religion musulmane dans ce référentiel national va de pair avec l'attachement du people marocain aux *valeurs d'ouverture, de modération, de tolérance et de dialogue* pour la compréhension mutuelle entre toutes les cultures et les civilisations du monde.' Royaume du Maroc, Secrétariat Général du Gouvernement (Direction de l'Imprimerie Officielle), 'La Constitution: Edition 2011', http://www.sgg.gov.ma/Portals/0/constitution/constitution_2011_Fr.pdf accessed 25 July 2019.
10. For a longer discussion about the constitution and its impact on musical performances integrating Moroccan Jewish music, see my forthcoming chapter "Common Language: Popular Music and its Message" in *Jews and Muslims in Morocco: Uncommon Commonalities*, Ed. Jane Gerber, Joseph Chetrit and Drora Arussy, Lexington Books, 2021.
11. A case in point is the songbook of Abraham Israel a Moroccan Jew from the 18th century living in Gibraltar published by Díaz-Mas and Sánchez Pérez (2013). Its

repertoire includes a Masonic song in English, songs in an unintelligible Italian-like language, others in Spanish, French and some paraliturgical coplas in Judeo-Spanish still sung today throughout Moroccan communities.

12. Haketia is a Moroccan Judeo-Spanish that has medieval Castilian as a linguistic base combined with Hebrew and Moroccan Arabic words, for more detailed information see Bénichou (1960), Benoliel (1977), Bentes (1981), Bentolila (1985, 2003), Bendelac (1995), Benabu (2008), Elbaz (2012), Benhamu Jiménez (2017).
13. Larrea Palacín (1952-1953–54), Bénichou (1968), Alvar (1969, 1971), Hassán (1976, 1978), Romero (1976, 1980, 1988), Armistead and Silverman (1973, 1977, 1986, 2001), Anahory-Librowicz (1980, 1993), Weich-Shahak (1989, 1997, 2007) and Pomeroy (2005) amongst others.
14. The Jewish communities from northern Morocco have been highly mobile for centuries, demonstrated by their extended family networks in Gibraltar, the Brazilian Amazon, Algeria, Egypt and Portugal before the beginning of the 20th century. However, after Moroccan independence in 1956, the rise of pan-Arabism, the series of conflicts in the middle east between the 1960s and 1980s, the original cities of these communities in Morocco (Tangier, Tetuan, Chefchaouen, Ksar el Kebir, Larache, Asilah) were almost completely emptied of Jewish communities.
15. This table was created for my PhD dissertation (INALCO, Sorbonne Paris Cité, 2018) and comprises 24 A2 pages. It has not been published yet as I am still finding a suitable format for it to function easily for readers.
16. Judith Cohen establishes four distinct thematic categories within the wedding repertoire: the erotic, the pragmatic, the frivolous and the religious (Cohen 1987, 57). Oro Anahory Librowicz and Judith Cohen's 1986 chapter uses a wider set of categories for wedding songs they are: erotic lyricism, poetic tonality, exemplary, playful tonality and vulgar or obscene tone (190–193).
17. The Catálogo Menéndez Pidal (CMP) established a thematic classification of 24 themes for the Romance repertoire including topics entitled adultery, seduced women, seducing women, murderess women, unlucky wife, returning husband and others. Sixteen of the CMP's 24 categories still exist in current Moroccan repertoire.
18. When I looked through the previous scholarship, the variety of categories was large and at times contradicting or overlapping. The categories I found in the previous scholarship were: Romances (Bénichou 1968; Armistead and Silverman 1978b), Baladas (Armistead and Silverman 1986; Pomeroy 2005), Canciones Rituales Hispano-Judías (Larrea Palacín 1954), Canciones del Ciclo de la Vida (Weich-Shahak 1989), Cantos de boda (Alvar 1971; Anahory-Librowicz 1993; Armistead and Silverman 2001), Coplas (Romero 1976, 1980, 1988), Canciones (Armistead and Silverman 1973) Endechas Españolas (Alexander et al. 1994), Poesía litúrgica and Piyyutim.
19. The local categories I heard from my informants were: cantares antiguos, cantares de mi madre, cantares de novia, cantares de Tisha, endechas, oínas, canción, nana, nana flamenca, cantar de Turkos, canciones españolas, himno judío, piyyut, piyyut de la pascua, meldar,
20. sur le verbalisable et le verbalisé, sur l'implicite partagé, l'inconscient collectif, les phénomènes de surface et le noyau dur, la dynamique des systèmes … (Fürniss and Varol 2011, 475).
21. Three holidays in the Jewish calendar are specifically agriculturally based around the planting, first fruits and harvest. In ancient times they were pilgrimage festivals to the Temple in Jerusalem. They continue to be the most widely

celebrated holidays in Moroccan Judaism outside of the high holidays of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur that start the Jewish year.

22. Biba Ordueña plants it in her sand
And this is how Biba Ordueña plants it
And this is how she puts her feet in the sea
And this is how I was taught to dance.
Biba Ordueña cuts it in her sand
And this is how Biba Ordueña cuts it
And this is how she puts her feet in the sea
And this is how I was taught to dance.
Biba Ordueña gathers it in her sand
And this is how Biba Ordueña gathers it
And this is how she puts her feet in the sea
And this is how I was taught to dance …
23. But this one they sang it a lot, they sang it as if it were an obscene song. It has a double meaning, I know it, that when they sang Ordueña women always blushed and men found great pleasure in singing it because it had to be obscene. Interview in KHOYA: Jewish Morocco Sound Archive, Casablanca January 2008.
24.

JB: Nosotros, yo creo que en todas las religiones la pureza es importante. Los Romanos, los Griegos etc … Porque esto, la, *[señala a una foto de una novia]* eso es el bello de las vestales.

VPE: ¿Qué es eso?

JB: Unas sacerdotisas que eran puras, que no podían cohabitar con un hombre.

VPE: sacerdotisas, ¡¡¡ah que interesante!!!Y eso donde era el Bello de las vestales?

JB: Roma.

VPE: ¿O sea que el vestido de novia viene de Roma, pero si no podían cohabitar porque se vuelve que la mujer con la que el hombre se casa entonces se viste de sacerdotisa?

JB: para probar que ES pura.

VPE: ¡ah claro! Ella es pura y entonces él va a estar con una mujer pura que es como una sacerdotisa.

JB: si, bueno, a ver a ver a ver a ver.

JB: Pero, it may have to do in some Roman festivals women prostituted themselves

VPE: Pero la Torá está escrita antes de los Romanos

JB: Bueno estoy buscando a ver

VPE: Pero busquemos en lo nuestro no en lo de los Romanos.

JB: Porque los judíos y los Romanos, bueno como los quieras llamar, los Paganos, existían.

VPE: Los paganos, los paganos existían, claro … pero no eran romanos todavía … cuando …

JB: No. Y cuando se escribió la Torá … Porque tenemos que ver el problema, no del punto de vista puro judío

VPE: A nivel de todo el mundo tú crees. Por ejemplo, todos los romances que tenemos, tantos sobre mujeres otras y también sobre las mujeres impuras. Tú me dijiste que había un romance que se cantaba para un

piyyut de tu abuelo? Y me dijiste que no te gustaba ese romance, la letra de ese romance no te gustaba que lo pusieran con ese piyyut.

JB: ¿Qué es eso Fray Pedro, que es eso señor? ¿Con esa escopeta y con esas balas tiro yo? Fray Pedro yo lo he oído recientemente.

VPE: ¿Entonces eso mismo? There are all these songs that are about sex! Para mí eso ha sido un shock darme cuenta de eso, porque, en una sociedad mucho más conservadora ¿y talvez no lo era?

JB: Bueno ten en cuenta una cosa, **que el sexo es todo. La vida es sexo**.

VPE: ¿Por qué?

JB: La vida procede del sexo. Si no hay sexo …

VPE: No hay niños.

JB: Y entonces por machismo, el hombre quiere ser el primero.

25. Le capital culturel est celui qui est le plus directement touché par la stratégie de patrimonialisation. En permettant une valorisation identitaire, la patrimonialisation contribue à contrer l'uniformisation des cultures. Cette contribution est loin d'être négligeable dans le contexte de mondialisation. (Lavoie 2014) https://www.cairn.info/revue-societes-2014-3-page-137.htm last accessed July 6, 2020.
26. MGG, Interview, July 2012.
27. I wish to suggest that one must analyze institutions from the standpoint of power relations, rather than vice versa, and that the fundamental point of anchorage of the relationships, even if they are embodied and crystallized in an institution, is to be found outside the institution. (Foucault 1983, 222–223).

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